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ABSTRACT

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THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATORS IN NEW YORK STATE

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The data revealed that the three groups were dissimilar in their exposure to the socializing influences of professionalization. Although analysis of variance revealed no significant differences between groups on any of the attitudinal attributes, multiple regression analysis found few significant predictors of any of the attitudinal attributes, and none that had impact across organizations.

The study concluded that adult educators are not a population, and that professionalization does not necessarily proceed on a uni-dimensional continuum. For practitioners dependent upon an organizational setting, without claim to an exclusive body of knowledge or area of expertise, the traditional maodel of profession is not viable. Constraints imposed by dependence on organization, adherence to a service ideal, and subject matter specialization must be recognized if an alternative model is to emerge.

This paper based on research undertaken in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, Cornell University.

Presented at the Adult Education Research Conference, New York City, February, 1971.

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PROFESSIONALIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATORS IN NEW YORK STATE

In 1939 T. H. Marshall[1] wrote of a new trend in society in which the work setting of the professional was becoming increasingly institutionalized. In the 1950's E. C. Hughes[2] remarked on this as a continuing phenomenon, and wrote also of the self-conscious attempt of established as well as emerging occupations to achieve recognition as professions. Today, some thirty years after Marshall's article was written, institutionalization of employment is virtually complete, and the movement toward achieving the status of a profession is a phenomenon studied in a wide variety of occupations.[3] Many of these studies have sought to establish whether a given occupation meets the criteria of a profession, but more recent consideration has been given to the use of "profession" as an ideal type of occupational institution lying at one end of a continuum along which all occupations might be located. Movement of an occupation along this continuum is the process of professionalization.[4]

The process by which the three traditional professions--medicine, the ministry, and law--became established is generally taken as the model for describing how an occupation seeks to achieve professional status.[5] The structural attributes of professionalization[6] include pursuit of the occupation on a full-time basis; the establishment of training schools, eventually affiliated with universities; the institution of professional associations, with regulations governing the licensing and accreditation of would-be-workers in the field and specification of the nature of the professional role; the formation of a code of ethics concerned with both colleague relationships and client relationships; and the granting of autonomy to practitioners in decision-making areas of their jobs and freedom from non-professional evaluation of these decisions.

Several problems are involved in this concept of professionalization. Assuming that an occupation has taken on all of the external or structural attributes of a profession, could one then assume that its practitioners have acquired a set of attitudes, an ethos, that is professional? Is there a pattern of socialization which

can predict the professionalization of the practitioner, regardless of the occupational content or context of that socialization?

This study is concerned with the process of socialization by which the practitioner internalizes attitudes considered to be professional and the nature of these attitudes. Generally, socialization refers to the process(es) by which the individual gains an understanding of the society's status structure and of the role prescriptions and behavior associated with the different positions in the structure.[7] For the person aspiring to become a member of a profession these processes result in the development of his professional self, with selective acquisition of the values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills current in the professional group. These are fused to a "more or less consistent set of dispositions which govern his behavior in a wide variety of professional and extraprofessional situations."[8] All of the structural attributes of professionalization of an occupation represent socializing influences on its practitioners.

The setting of this study is adult education. This is a calling which is sufficiently established to have many of the structural attributes of a profession, yet which is new and fast-changing enough to have required staffing by persons drawn from other lines of work, and from a variety of backgrounds. Adult education does not lend itself to private practice, but may be found within a wide range of organizational settings where its role varies from central to peripheral in terms of the organization's goals.

The practitioner in adult education is seen as a marginal man, or as an incumbent in a marginal profession. His field, whether chosen or arrived at, holds many of the features associated with a profession. He may belong to one or more professional associations, subscribe to a number of journals in the field, earn an advanced degree in adult education at any of a growing number of university-affiliated professional training programs, and work the more than sixty-hour week commonly associated with most professions. Whether, in this professionally-colored

environment, he has taken on the distinct coloration of the professional, is the question.

For purposes of this study, adult educators are personnel who spend a significant portion of their employed time in activities such as teaching or administration directly related to the education of adults (persons over eighteen years of age and/or having completed secondary school) in other than programs of full-time study. The organizations involved in the study were New York State Cooperative Extension, the public schools in New York State, and units of the State University of New York. These organizations are consciously concerned with increasing the professional qualifications and status of their adult education practitioners. They are publicly-supported organizations of a client-serving or public-servicing nature,[9] categories chosen for their congruence with the professional service ideal and sense of calling.

Three hundred fifty adult educators in New York State--109 directors of continuing education in the units of the State University of New York (SUNY), 110 public school adult educators (PSAE) randomly selected from the DIRECTORY OF PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN NEW YORK STATE, and 131 New York State Cooperative Extension agents (CES) randomly selected from the 4-H, Agriculture, and Home Economics divisions--were included in the study. A self-administered mail survey questionnaire was developed to secure the data from this sample. Items requesting background information concerning education, work experience, and professional affiliations were of a résumé format, with specific queries added to elicit information such as special non-degree training, and types of journals read. Two hundred thirty-seven questionnaires were returned, or 68 percent of the sample, of which 202 (58 percent) were complete.

The first objective of the study was to ascertain the differences in extent of professionalization of adult educators between organizations. Professionalization here refers to the extent to which the individual has internalized certain attitudes held to be typical of a professional. Hall's "Professionalization Scales"[10] were

used to measure the following attitudinal attributes of professionalization:

1. The use of the professional organization as a major reference--this involves both the formal association and informal colleague groupings as the major source of ideas and judgments for the professional in his work.
2. A belief in service to the public--this component includes the idea of indispensibility of the profession and the view that the work performed benefits both the public and the practitioner.
3. Belief in self-regulation--this involves the belief that the person best qualified to judge the work of a professional is a fellow professional, and the view that such a practice is desirable and practical. It is a belief in colleague control.
4. A sense of calling to the field--this reflects the dedication of the professional to his work and the feeling that he would probably want to do the work even if fewer extrinsic rewards were available.
5. Autonomy--this involves the feeling that the practitioner ought to be able to make his own decisions without external pressures from clients, those who are not members of his profession, or from his employing organization.

If adult educators do indeed identify with a generalized profession of adult education, the organization by which they are employed should have relatively less influence on the professional attitudes they have internalized. It was hypothesized that there would be no significant differences in mean scores on each attribute of professionalization between the three organizations. To test the null hypothesis $H_o: u_1 = u_2 = u_3$ a total score for each scale was computed for each respondent. A one-way analysis of variance for unequal cell sizes for each of the five dependent variables resulted in an F well below the .05 level of significance in each case (See Table I), and no further testing was done. Apparently whatever differences may exist in these three institutions, all adult educators end up thinking like each other.

TABLE I DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS IN ATTITUDINAL ATTRIBUTES OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

Summary of Analysis of Variance

Variable	Source	d.f.	Mean Square	F
1. Use of the professional organization as a major reference group	Between groups	2	1.24829	
	Within groups	199	22.4183	.055(n.s.)
2. Belief in service to the public	Between groups	2	80.8868	
	Within groups	199	28.786	2.809(n.s.)
3. Belief in self-regulation	Between groups	2	2.96335	
	Within groups	199	24.6192	.1203(n.s.)
4. Sense of calling to the field	Between groups	2	36.0804	
	Within groups	199	23.9576	1.506(n.s.)
5. Feeling of autonomy	Between groups	2	23.4573	
	Within groups	199	19.2983	1.215(n.s.)

A second objective of this study was to ascertain whether any pattern of socialization variables would predict within a given organization the adult educator's score on each of the Professionalization Scales. Four major socializing influences were considered--education and training, work experience, professional affiliations, and organizational practices. Each of these categories was indexed by a number of variables selected and linearized to meet criteria of a) congruence with theoretical notions as to the nature and impact of socialization for the profession, b) utilizing available data, and c) permitting the widest possible range of X values when plotted against one or more Y variables without increasing apparent randomization.

The set of variables subsumed under 'Education and Training' included the number of years of higher (post-secondary_ education, the highest degree earned, the institutions attended, major studies, other training, internship, and professional licensing or accreditation. The index for 'Work Experience" was the mean of the total number of years worked, years worked as a professional, and years worked full-time. A separate index of 'Cosmopolitanism' was derived as the square root of the

sum of number of different positions held, number of different employers, and number of different places located.

'Professional Associations' included a measure of organizational affiliation which took into account the number of organizations to which the individual belonged, the types of organizations, and the individual's level of activity within them. It also included the number of professional meetings attended within a given period of time, the types of meetings attended, a journal-reading indicator, and awareness of a code of ethics.

Indicators of 'Organization Practices' included the number of in-service training experiences in which the respondent had participated and the number of days devoted to this training; a measure of the degree of autonomy granted by the organization to the respondent; the number of activities in the organization in which the adult educator was involved; the respondent's perception of organizational support for professional affiliations; and the extent to which the organization's selection and evaluation criteria reinforce professional standards.

Multiple regression analyses were considered appropriate with scores on each of the Professionalization Scales as the dependent variables. It was recognized that the socialization variables above would frequently be related to each other, e.g. number of years of higher education and highest degree earned. In order to avoid spurious results from many highly inter-correlated independent variables within each set, a single factor for each socializing influence was determined by factor analysis. Using the principal factor solution suggested by Harman,[11] the first factor only was found for 'Education and Training,' 'Professional Associations,' and 'Organization Practices' for each of the three groups of adult educators studied. The arbitrary estimate of communality used was the highest correlation of a given variable from among its correlations with all others of the same set. The equation of the independent variables to this first factor was computed for each set within each group, and a score for each individual subsequently reckoned.

A step-wise multiple regression analysis was then performed for each of the five dependent variables -- the attitudinal attributes measured by the Professionalization Scales--for each of the groups studied. Five independent variables were used; the individual's score on the first factor from Education and Training, his score on the principle factor for Professional Associations, his score on the Organization Practices factor, the index for number of years worked, and the index of cosmopolitanism. This analysis was performed separately for each of the three groups, making fifteen multiple regressions in all.

Table II shows the results of this analysis for predictors of the use of the professional organization as a major reference for each group studied. Two points are immediately apparent--none of the socialization variables used have major predictive value for this aspect of professionalization, and there is little similarity of effect across organizations.[12]

TABLE II. PREDICTING THE USE OF THE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION AS A MAJOR REFERENCE GROUP

Direction of Influence	Predictor(s)	d.f.	F	Multiple R	Group
+	Education and Training[1]	1,42	9.794*	.4349	SUNY
+	Professional Associations[1]	2,39	4.963*	.3322	PSAE
-	Organizational Practices[1]	2,39	2.673**	.4092	PSAE
+	Organizational Practices[1]	1,84	3.709**	.2056	CES

[1] First factor only

* Significant at $< .05$

** Significant at $< .10$

Tables III through VI indicate that the same may be said for influence of the predictor variables on the other four attitudinal attributes. Considering the differences in background between the three groups of adult educators, it is not surprising that there is such variation between them in the primary source of influence on professionalization. What is surprising is that there is no difference between the groups in their scores on the Professionalization Scales. It would appear that there is some other factor involved--either an influence not considered here or an intangible confluence of variables not tapped by the particular measurements used. It is also possible that use of a principal factor obscured the potency of a single aspect of any socialization influence.

TABLE III PREDICTING BELIEF IN SERVICE TO THE PUBLIC

Direction of Influence	Predictor(s)	d.f.	F	Multiple R	Group
-	Organizational Practices[1]	1,42	n.s.	.1484	SUNY
+	Professional Associations[1]	1,40	n.s.	.0711	PSAE
+	Organizational Practices[1]	3,82	5.618*	.2908	CES
+	Years Worked[2]	3,82	8.107*	.3848	CES
-	Professional Associations[1]	3,82	2.892*	.4209	CES

[1]First factor only
[2]Index score

*Significant at < .05
**Significant at < .10

TABLE IV PREDICTING BELIEF IN SELF-REGULATION

Direction of Influence	Predictor(s)	d.f.	F	Multiple R	Group
-	Professional Associations[1]	1,42	5.741*	.3468	SUNY
-	Years Worked[2]	1,40	n.s.	.2212	PSAE
+	Years Worked[2]	1,84	n.s.	.1620	CES

[1]First factor only
[2]Index score

*Significant at < .05

TABLE V PREDICTING SENSE OF CALLING TO THE FIELD

Direction of Influence	Predictor(s)	d.f.	F	Multiple R	Group
-	Professional Associations[1]	1,42	4.02**	.2956	SUNY
-	Organization Practices[1]	1,40	5.722*	.3538	PSAE
+	Organization Practices[1]	2,83	11.034*	.3716	CES
+	Years Worked[2]	2,83	3.478*	.4156	CES

[1] First factor only

[2] Index score

* Significant at < .05

** Significant at < .10

TABLE VI PREDICTING FEELING OF AUTONOMY

Direction of Influence	Predictor(s)	d.f.	F	Multiple R	Group
-	Professional Associations[1]	1,42	n.s.	.2169	SUNY
+	Education and Training[1]	2,39	4.8315*	.2907	PSAE
-	Years Worked[2]	2,39	2.3161**	.3685	PSAE
+-	Organization Practices[1]	1,84	n.s.	.1427	CES

[1] First factor only

[2] Index score

* Significant at < .05

** Significant at < .10

For those predictors significantly affecting the dependent variables, the relationship is not always in the expected direction, and, in the few cases where the same predictor appears for two groups, the direction of the relationship varies. For example, Organization Practices is a significant variable for both the PSAE and CES groups when predicting the 'use of the professional organization as a major reference group' and 'sense of calling to the field' (Tables II and V). In the

case of the public school personnel, this factor is negatively associated with both of these attitudinal attributes. The higher their factor score, the lower their rating on these aspects of professionalization. For Cooperative Extension agents, the picture is reversed. The higher their Organization Practice factor score, the greater their sense of calling to the field and the more they use their professional organization as a reference group.

This may be explained by examination of the principal factors themselves. For Cooperative Extension the variables contributing most to the Organization Practices factor were the number of in-service training experiences attended and the number of days of in-service training, with lesser contribution from the evaluation criteria used by the organization and the number of activities in which the agent was involved. The first principal factor for the public school group, however, gave heaviest weighting to number of activities and ratio of major decision-making influence, and much less weighting to the in-service training experiences and days. Apparently, whatever these factors are, they are not the same and should not be compared across organizations.

The organization seems to have a pervasive influence on the five attitudinal attributes. Although few of the socialization variables studied seemed to account for a major portion of the variance of attribute scores, those variables which did make a significant difference were largely determined by the particular organization's policies and practices. Thus, for the SUNY group, use of the professional organization as a major reference group is a function of their Education and Training, qualifications highly preferred by the colleges in which they are employed. These men are encouraged by their organizations to maintain a scholarly standing; this involves continuing affiliation with the professional associations of the fields in which they were trained. Such emphasis on academic respectability, given the fact that few of the SUNY continuing educators specialized in adult education,

is dysfunctional when it comes to increasing their belief in self-regulation (i.e. control by colleagues in adult education) or their sense of calling to the field of adult education.

A public school system, in general, must be concerned with meeting the mandated requirements of the State Education Department and with accountability to the taxpayers of its district. These constraints on the system have a definite influence on the public school adult educator. In the first place, justification for including adult education in the school budget often is a matter of providing only those programs which are reimbursed by state funds, with any additional offerings being self-supporting. For such a marginal program the typical school cannot afford to offer a full-time position in adult education attracting personnel specifically trained in this field. Instead, part-time or extra-time responsibilities in continuing education administration are frequently regarded as a means of increasing the salary or status of a person already in the system when the budget does not permit regular salary increase or up-grading of position. The upward-mobile person rewarded in this fashion tends to be actively involved in professional education associations, especially at the state and local level. Such professional affiliation has a significant positive impact on the public school adult educator's use of the professional organization as a major reference group.

The upward-mobile school person has made an effort to prepare himself for administrative positions by meeting state certification requirements. Such training positively influences his feeling of autonomy as an adult educator. If, however, the school uses adult education positions as rewards for longevity within the system, the greater the tenure in the system, the less autonomy the recipient feels he holds.

The school's policy regarding the amount of authority it grants to the adult educator negatively influences his sense of calling to adult education and his use of colleagues as a major reference group. Such authority may simply whet his appetite for further upward mobility, which is not available in public school adult education. To attain a higher position, he may have to be more tuned in to the demands of taxpayers and the concerns of top administration than to the interests of his former colleagues in teaching.

The Cooperative Extension agent operates within a still different set of constraints. He is expected to help solve the problems of the area he serves, to focus on the needs of his public. Yet he is selected by the organization on the basis of his subject matter competence rather than his community and human resource development expertise, and is expected to participate in intensive subject-matter training during which he is told what the public needs and how to relay the information which will fill such needs. While the local share of funding is approved by elected lay representatives at the county level, these representatives seldom apply sharp criteria of program effectiveness to budget evaluation. Program approval comes from a lay Board of Directors who do not necessarily share the goals which the state extension service has made salient to the agents in in-service training.

New York State Cooperative Extension, in providing extensive in-service training and placing importance on professional affiliations, contributes to the use of colleagues as a major reference group by agents in the counties. These practices also contribute to the agents' belief in a service ideal, and to their sense of calling to the field.

The Mythology of Professionalization

This study was based on the assumption that adult education is a vocation or calling in which practitioners, regardless of their particular organizational settings, hold a common conceptual framework. This research suggests that this assumption is more myth than reality.

All myths have some link with reality. In this case the foundations of the myth may lie in the existence of the professional training programs, professional associations, and full-time jobs labeled adult education that were considered earlier as structural attributes of professionalization. Since, the myth-makers might well argue, there are programs of study labeled adult education purporting to train professional adult educators, ergo there must be a profession of adult education. The very existence of associations of practitioners and professors of continuing education banded together nominally to further the cause of their profession implies the existence of a shared notion as to what that profession is. There are fifty-five directors of adult education in the United States at the state or territorial level; there is a large collection of records, reports, and research concerning adult education in the Educational Retrieval and Information Center for Adult Education at Syracuse University. With all of this evidence of widespread recognition of adult education, it is difficult to resist the notion that there are commonalities among adult education practitioners that make it reasonable to consider them as a population.

Here, however, the evidence disappears. The study revealed that many of the structural attributes of professionalization are present, but it also revealed considerable variation in the impact of these attributes across organizations. For example, the proportion of positions that are full-time varies. The largest proportion of full-time jobs is in Cooperative Extension, whose mission is adult education. Even here may practitioners do not recognize adult education as their full-time vocation. In the public schools, where lack of local funding frequently limits adult education programs to those offerings that are subsidized by the state, very few work full-time at adult education. The largest proportion of self-reported full-time adult educators is in the continuing education divisions of the two-year and four-year colleges of the State University. Here the institution, once it opts for inclusion of continuing education, usually invests in at least one full-time director to insure the success of the operation.

Graduate study in adult education, while offered in five or six institutions of higher education in New York State alone, was infrequently pursued by the practitioners questioned in this study. Instead, the respondents had majored in areas which they or the institutions by which they were employed had perceived as more central to their career interests. Thus, extension personnel were most likely to have pursued a subject matter interest in graduate study, public school men majored in educational administration, and continuing educators in institutions of higher education earned graduate degrees in the wide range of academic areas they had entered as undergraduates.

There are many professional associations of adult educators, but it is more likely that the practitioners within one organization will affiliate with those few associations that have particular relevance for their organization than to belong to an all-inclusive organization. The SUNY adult educators are active in associations of evening colleges, junior colleges, university extension programs, or university professors; the PSAE group affiliate with other public school adult educators; and the extension agents belong to organizations of extension agents, leaving the field in a fragmented state indeed.

A similar picture exists for the status of a formal code of ethics. An all-encompassing code does not exist; perhaps each group, in wishing to preserve an image of unique purpose and function, sees a universal code as unnecessary or inappropriate. Even the informal norms, i.e. the norm violations mentioned by the respondents, did not reflect consensus across organizations, but awareness of organizational constraints.

Of the 204 persons in the study responding to the question "...what would you answer if asked what your profession is?", only 27 (13 percent) replied adult education. This is slightly more than the number of subjects who had pursued adult

education as a graduate major--yet only six of the self-styled adult educators were products of a graduate training program in adult education.

Prior to the study, communication with persons representing other adult education enterprises revealed that there is no necessary relationship between the task of educating adults and identification with adult education. To quote from a director of continuing education for engineers, "...a recognition of continuing education as a profession or of the professional recognition of persons involved in it are not major concerns. Most directors of continuing education in industry and universities are professional engineers or scientists. ....Continuing education is not their profession; their profession is engineering, science, or engineering education."[13] The training director of one government agency wrote, "Despite the fact that our training personnel are involved in staff development--some aspects of which involve teaching and training--they are identified with the profession of social work, not education."[14]

It appears that of all the persons engaged in the training and education of adults there is only a relatively small proportion whose primary identification is with adult education. Although effort is being spent in attempts to raise the professional standing of adult education, there seems little success in convincing practitioners that they stand to gain any advantage from joining the cause. Perhaps there simply is no clear cut cause to join.

Looking at the attitudinal attributes of professionalization measured by Hall's Professionalization Scales, all three groups of the adult educators studied seem to be very much alike. Their scores on the Likert-like Professionalization Scales were positive but not very far above the neutral point; there were no significant differences between the groups on any of the five attitudes measured. This study cannot conclude that adult educators are more or less professional than any other occupational group or that they have attained a particular degree of

professionalization on some absolute scale. It suggests that the commonalities in attitudes regarding their profession transcend group differences attributable to organization practices for these three groups of adult educators. However, recognizing that only a small proportion of each group identified themselves as adult educators, the meaning of the scores on the Professionalization Scales is far from clear.

A question asked early in this study was whether, given at least some of the structural attributes of professionalization, it was necessary that there be professionals. The answer apparently must be no. The remaining conclusions are written with this caveat in mind.

The Impact of the Structural Attributes of Professionalization

A second question had to do with the effect of the structural attributes of a profession on the attitudes of its practitioners. The structural attributes examined in the study were full-time pursuit of the occupation, professional training programs affiliated with universities, professional associations, a formal code of ethics, and autonomy in one's work. This study was undertaken with the assumption that the socializing influence of these structural attributes was largely responsible for the attitudinal attributes of professionalization internalized by practitioners. The data do not lend credence to this assumption. There were no differences in attitudinal attributes concomitant with the marked differences between organizations in exposure to the effects of the structural attributes. Those few variables that did have a significant predictive value accounted for very little of the variance, and none was universally potent. If the practitioner's attitudes regarding his field are related to the occupation's professionalization, they are not a function of the socializing influence exerted.

Importance of Exclusive Expertise

Two widely-held generalizations[15] seem to be supported by the findings of this study. When a line of work rests upon a broad general base of knowledge drawn from a variety of disciplines, as adult education does, the practitioner can hold no claim to exclusive authority based on mastery of a particular body of knowledge. In adult education there is not even a widely accepted general knowledge base, as evidenced by the diverse backgrounds of the subjects in this study. This lack of definition of the field by the practitioners themselves leaves their authority wide open to dispute. Without a legitimate claim to exclusive expertise, the occupation aspiring to professional status cannot expect its practitioners to believe in self-regulation and colleague control, one of the basic tenets of the traditional professions.

Importance of Private Practices

The traditional professions of medicine and law were known as the 'free' professions because their practitioners were independently self-employed. Although a large and increasing proportion of doctors and attorneys are now employed in institutions and even private practitioners are subject to institutional regulations of hospitals and the courts, it is still possible for a doctor or lawyer to set up a private practice. Adult education, however, is virtually impossible to practice outside an organizational setting. The resources it requires in terms of personnel, depth and diversity in subject matter expertise, physical facilities, teaching-learning materials, and access to clientele are not available to a single individual. No function in the field, with the possible exception of consultant service, has been defined which can be conducted as a private practice. Even the consultant's services are used by organizations.

Because of the dependence of this occupation on organizational setting, it is subject to constraints which must be accorded legitimacy on a par with that of the demands of the profession itself. Service to the organization must compete with

service to the public, if an opportunity to serve at all is to survive. The good will of the client qua consumer and the interests of the organization as protector must be considered as well as the technical judgment of colleagues in the practice of adult education. It is not realistic to compare occupations dependent upon an organizational setting with the traditional model of professionalization. As Wilensky said, "...if we call everything professionalization we obscure the newer structural forms now emerging."[16]

Footnotes

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9
Blau, P., & R. Scott, FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS. San Francisco: Chandler, 1961.

10
Hall, op. cit. Hall reports that each scale obtained a reliability of .80 or higher using the split half method with the Spearman-Brown correction formula when tested with physicians, nurses, teachers, and accountants.

11
Harman, H. H., MODERN FACTOR ANALYSIS. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960.

12
The multiple regression model assumes that the relationship between variables is linear and additive. To see whether the model was appropriate residuals were plotted against each of the independent variables. No non-linear function was discovered.

13
Personal correspondence from Professor Julian Smith, Director of Cornell Engineering Continuing Education.

14
Personal correspondence from Fred Wight, Director of Professional Development & Training, New York State Department of Social Services.

15
See, for example, Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?", op. cit.;
Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?", op. cit.;
Shey, T. H., THE PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS. Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, New School for Social Research, 1968.

16
Wilensky, ibid., p. 137.

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